?: Barker M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Memoir on the Culture of the Waica
[Memoria sobre la cultura de los Guaika]

by James Barker

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[Title page]

/433/ Memoir on the Culture of the Guaika

By James Barker (*)

114 * The author of this work is a missionary of a North American mission, the "New Tribes Mission," who has lived for several years among the Guaika /Waica/ Indians of the Upper Orinoco, Venezuela. Without presuming to be an ethnologist, Mr. Barker has prepared this report containing his observations, and, having kindly sent it to the Ministro de Justicia for his information and for publication, the Comisión Indigenista has accepted it for these pages of the Boletín Indigenista Venezolano, considering its importance as firsthand information concerning a remote tribe scarcely studied up to now. Direct observations made over a period of several years, such as those revealed to us by Mr. Barker in a simple and objective fashion, are of positive utility for
[128] ethnologists and ethnographers. In the translation of the original from English to Spanish, we tried to adhere as closely as possible to the words and expressions of the author himself, without having recourse to technical terms. -- (Note by the translator, Walter
MDO Dupouy.) /It is to be noted that Mr. Dupouy was the original translater from the English to Spanish, but not the HRAF translator from the Spanish to English./

121 Most of the data included in this memoir are the result of my own observations. Observations made by other members of the staff of the "New Tribes" Mission, who have also collaborated, are included as well. They are: Mr. Edwin Killam and his wife,

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121 Messrs. Eugene Higdem, Byron Reihart, and Joe Jenkins, and the late Flora Troxel.

124 The information concerning the area of Brazil inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ has been gathered from oral reports made to me by several men who said that they had worked upstream /434/ on the rivers of Brazil, within or near Guaika Territory. This information, although fragmentary and not absolutely certain, has helped us nevertheless to form a more complete picture of the Guaika tribe as a whole.

Orientation

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131 The Guaika /Waica/ tribe inhabits the region of the Upper Orinoco and its tributaries above the outlet of the Ocamo River, including also the south bank of the Ocamo itself. In addition, the Guaika tribe extends into the territory of Brazil, occupying the headwaters of several tributaries of the Branco and Negro rivers (see the map /see p. 6 /).

The tribe located to the north, the Guajaribo /Guaharibo/, inhabits the north bank of the Ocamo River, the valley of the Padamo River, and the headwaters of the Caura River, and is also found in Brazil on the headwaters of the Uraricoera River, a tributary of the Branco River. The Guajaribo come downriver frequently as far as La Esmeralda, and on occasion even come as far as the mouth of the Cunucunuma River. It has been reported that they have been seen as far to the east as the Paragua River in the state of Bolívar (see map).

197 The Guaika and Guajaribo Indians speak the same language, but there are several observable dialectical differences which make it possible to distinguish immediately by their speech whether they belong to the one group or to the other. I make this observation on the basis of my studies of the Guaika language spoken in El Platanal and its comparison with samples of the Guajaribo dialect collected by Flora Troxel and by me in La Esmeralda and Ioeitedi.

[121]
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Waica
Guaharibo

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197 101 Nevertheless, what distinguishes the Guajaribo as a separate group from the Guaika, even more than the small differences in language, are certain differences in their habits and material culture.

101 197 The Guajaribo share a goodly portion of their habitation zone with the Maquiritare /Makiritare/ Indians, who live to the north. As a result of this, it appears that they have adopted [248] many things from Maquiritare culture; for example, they cultivate yuca more than the /435/ Guaika do. Their cotton hammocks [352] and those of the Guaika seem to be a simplified version [342] of the ones which the Maquiritare make. They also build some few ranchos [484] with double-sloped roofs. And, like the Maquiritare, they travel much farther than the Guaika.

191 192 A certain number of the Guajaribo are bilingual, and they speak Maquiritare in their commercial relations. They have also adopted a certain number of Spanish words through the Maquiritare and through their outside contacts, which have been more numerous than the contacts which the Guaika of the Orinoco have had with outsiders.

101 The title "Guajaribo" seems to be a name given to this tribe by outsiders and adopted by them for commercial reasons. The Maquiritare call the Guajaribo "Shidishana" or "Shiriana." These names, Shidishana and Shiriana, are the ones which the Guajaribo themselves employ when they talk among themselves or when they talk with the Guaika and the Maquiritare.

Maps

126 I have not been able to find a map of the exact territory inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ and Guajaribo /Guaharibo/ [114] tribes. For example, on most of the maps the Ocamo River is shown running almost parallel to the Padamo River, when in reality it runs almost parallel to the Orinoco River. I have corrected some of these errors, but my maps are still only approximations.

126 628 On the map of the local area of El Platanal, I have tried to show the friendly and hostile relations between the settlements, as well as the approximate location of the Guaika

/435 cont./

126 628 rancherías. For anyone who might be preparing to travel or work in Guaika territory, these relations can be as important as the geographical location of the settlements. If a group of Guaika should be engaged to carry out certain tasks, they might be inclined to work well in certain areas, but doubtless would refuse to enter areas inhabited by their enemies.

126 /436/ On the map of the whole area inhabited by the Guaika and Guajaribo, I have tried to show the approximate limits of the two tribes. The areas which are shaded on the said map correspond to the zones where we have had contact with these (114) tribes on several occasions. The settlements whose names appear underlined, that is to say, El Platanal and Ioeitedi, are native rancherías where we have lived and worked for long periods of time. These settlements continue to be our principal bases of operation.

103 The native names of the principal rivers are as follows:

Orinoco River	Majekodo-ko
Cunucunuma River	Ami-ko
Padamo River	Jaiyama-ko
Metacuni River	Wakawaka-ko
Ocamo River	Kia-ko
Mavaca River	Wachewa-ko
Manavichi River	Mata-ko

The native name of the Raudal de Guajaribos /Guaharibo Torrent/ is Kalebakbola.

I have not been able to discover even one name for the hill of Guaiaribo, but the most important peaks, starting below and going up the river, are: Wanidi-mak, Yabitao-mak, Kacholaoa-mak, and Wadubaoa-mak.

Geography

361 A few Guaika /Waica/ settlements are located along the principal rivers and are accessible by means of small boats or canoes with outboard motors. Nevertheless, most of the Guaika settlements are inland and can only be reached after one or more days of travel.

/436 cont./

132 The rains at El Platanal are copious, and there is no true dry season there. There is never a day when one can feel safe from rain if he does not have a roof over him. The longest dry period which I have heard of was ten /maps appear here/ /437/ days. Droughts are so unknown that nobody thinks about the fact that rain is necessary for the crops. In El Platanal, almost all of the winds and the rainstorms come from the east.

137 The basin of the Upper Orinoco is covered by a tropical forest. Above the savanna at La Esmeralda, meadows are virtually nonexistent. There is one hillside on the north bank of the Upper Ocama which is covered with grass, but aside from this, and a few rocky slopes where not even grass grows, the tree cover is practically uninterrupted, with the exception of the clearings opened by the currents of water and the hand of man.

133 If one climbs the hill at El Platanal on a clear day, he will see an extensive plain toward the north. On the northwestern horizon rise the distant peaks of Duida and Marahuaca. These seem to blend into the even more distant montañas of the Upper Padamo and the Ventuari River farther to the north. Following these mountains toward the east with the eyes, one almost believes that he can make out the boundaries of Brazil from the headwaters of the Ventuari River down to the headwaters of the Ocamo. Then, looking toward the east, one can see the entire area between the Ocamo and Orinoco rivers, full of mountains which are not very high, but which are impressive because they are no near. But the north and northwest of Platanal between the Ocamo and Orinoco rivers is the part nearest to the plain described above.

Toward the south there is a narrow plain along the Orinoco River, then hills which are combined with the mountains of the headwaters of the Orinoco to the east and the mountains of the Upper Mavaca to the south. Then, looking toward the southwest and the west, there is the extensive plain of the Mavaca River, interrupted only by a few isolated mountains. Beyond this plain are the mountain ranges which, beginning at the headwaters of the Mavaca, extend toward the west and then toward the north, almost as far as the Orinoco itself.

7: Barker--6 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

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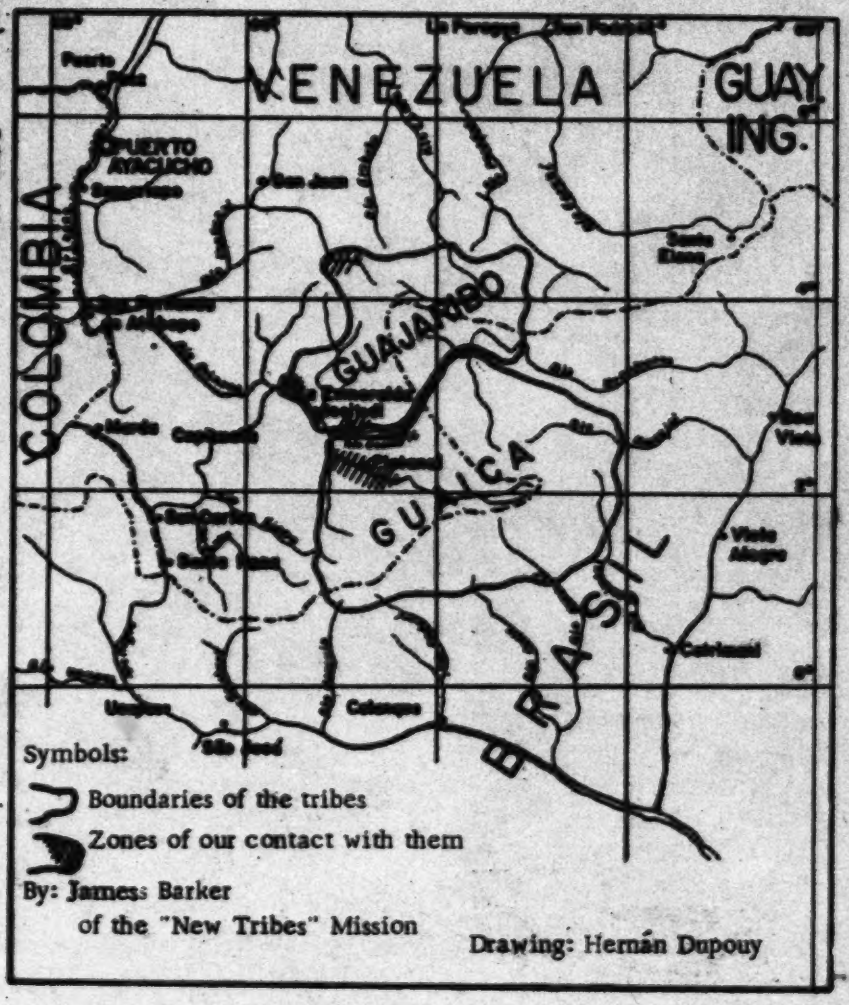

7: Barker--7 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Waica
Guaharibo

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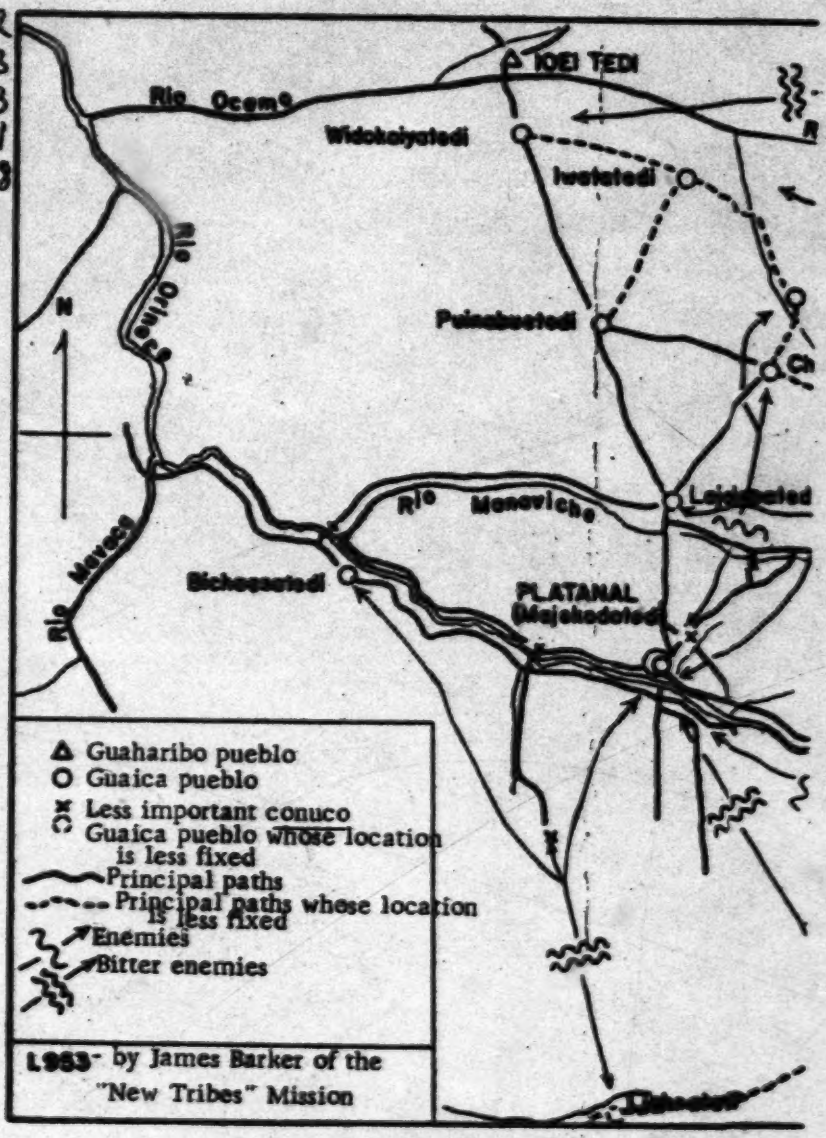

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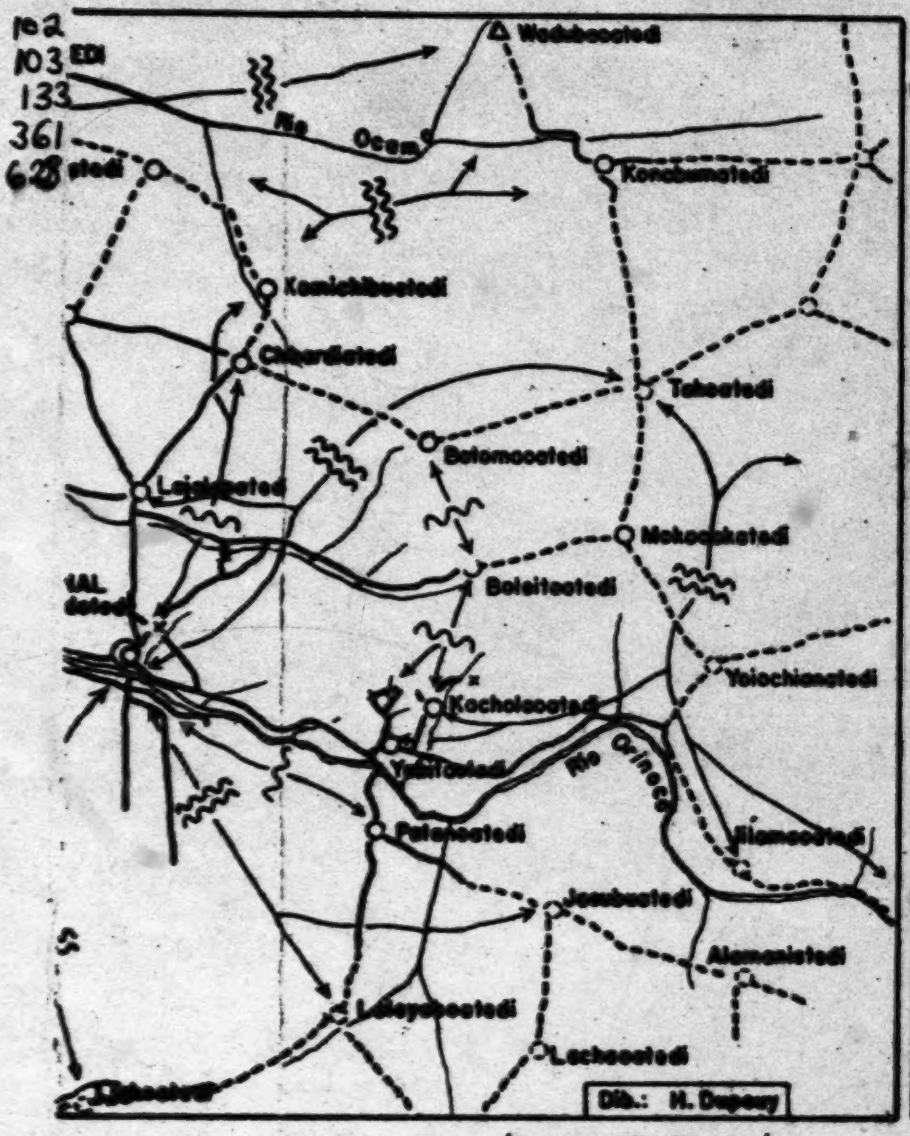
Waica
Guaharibo



/Drawing: H. Dupouy/

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Population -- 1953

361 It is known that there are about 23 Guaika /Waica/ settlements between the Orinoco and the Ocamo rivers and in the region of the Brazilian frontier to the north of the Orinoco River.

/438/ It is known that there are at least 28 other Guaika settlements to the south of the Orinoco River.

103 162 The approximate population of the Guaika settlements with which we have had the most contact is as follows:

Majekodotedi (Platanal)	100	Kacholaotedi	100
Bichaasatedi	100	Boleitaotedi	100
Lajalaowatedi	100	Patanaotedi	120
Yabitaotedi	75	Chibardiatedi	60

361 At least eight Guajaribo settlements are known to exist in the region of the Ocamo and Lower Padamo rivers. It is known that there are others on the Upper Padamo, a few others on the Ventuari River, and still others on the Upper Caura (also called the Merevari River).

103 162 [114] The approximate population of the Guajaribo settlements with which we have had the most contact is as follows:

Ioeitedi	60
Wakawakatedi	100
Kwaisitedi	100

162 The population of El Platanal can be divided by age and sex approximately as follows:

	Men	Women	Total
Great-grandparents	0	1	1
Grandparents	6	6	12
Parents	8	15	23
Newlyweds (childless)	5	6	11
Unmarried adolescents and children	33	21	54
	52	49	101

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582 [163] Girls are usually around 14 or 15 years of age when they have their first child. The husband is perhaps between 16 and 18 years of age, if this is his first marriage.

The adult men frequently take as new wives girls who have just reached puberty.

A boy 15 years old is commonly not considered capable of taking a wife, especially if he has not yet sown his first conuco /a clearing for cultivation/ in order to be able to feed his wife. But even if the planting had been prepared, it is often the case that he has to wait while the older men pick over the girls whom he might have wished to marry.

584 582 Nevertheless, in marriages prearranged with the consent of all before the husband and the wife are of age, it is very probable that the age of both would be almost the same. As a result a boy might marry at an age younger than usual.

162 163 Here are some examples of the number of living children per wife among Guaika families. The parentheses indicate the probability that no more children will be born. (Not all of the fathers of the families enumerated are still alive.)

Living children of families of a single wife:

(6) (5) (4) (4) (4) (3) (3) 5 4 4 2 2 2 1 0 0 0 0 0

Living children of polygamous families and families in which a second wife has been taken after the death of the first:

	First Wife	Other Wives
Family "A"	(12)	1
Family "B"	6	2 -- 1 -- 1
Family "C"	(4)	2
Family "D"	(3)	4
Family "E"	2	0

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Communications

202 195 Messages are memorized and carried by a messenger.

All official messages are communicated to the messenger and transmitted by him in a crooned form to the addressee. The addressee of the message repeats the words which are communicated to him or responds by answering them.

/440 cont./

202 484 Generally the messengers travel only during the day and communicate the message at night, after having rested from the trip. Nevertheless, in times of war, messengers may travel during the night, and urgent messages are communicated immediately upon the arrival of the messenger, be it day or night. [416] A messenger who travels at night carries with him two or three pieces of firewood tied together in torch fashion.

195 Official dealings are frequently carried out in the same form of crooning. A man might in this way request official authorization [584] to take a certain girl as his wife. These dealings are generally carried on at night.

437 Nevertheless, business dealings are generally carried out during the day, so that both participants in the negotiation may have ample opportunity to see and examine what they are getting.

142 Human Biology

The hair of the Guaika /Waica/ is lighter than that of the other Indians and of most of the Creoles who live in the Territorio Federal Amazonas.

The hair of the majority of the individuals is fine, but some of them have quite stiff hair. The color of the hair is black or chestnut, and a few have hair with a slightly reddish tone. Some of the children have hair that is very light in color, which seems to become darker as they grow. Few of the older persons have gray hair.

The majority of men either have a very thin beard or none at all. The arms, legs, and chest are generally free of hair.

/441/ The eyes of the majority of them are brown, and some of them have black eyes. Some of the children have blue eyes. A few individuals have the inner corner of the eye rounded in a way somewhat similar to that of certain Oriental peoples.

Their noses are short and wide.

The Guaika are well fed, but in general do not show any excess muscle or fat. The Guaika to the south of the Orinoco tend to be fatter and plumper, it would seem, than those of El Platanal or those who live to the north of this locality.

/441 cont./

Obtaining Food

224 Hunting.

Hunting is done with bows and arrows.

A broad arrow-point of bamboo is used against larger land game, such as the danta, the váquiros /peccaries/, and the large [411] rodents. Poisoned points are used against monkeys and occasionally against dantas. Bone points are used principally to hunt birds. Small birds are hunted with arrows with a blunt point or forked point.

[231] Dogs are used in hunting, and in the case of the smallest wild pigs, these dogs frequently do more killing than the hunters.

The hunters hunt together and surround the game. The one who succeeds in killing it is the owner of the animal. He might make a gift of a few pieces to those who have helped him, but in general he carries the entire animal to his house, where it is cooked. A danta, of course, must be divided up on the spot in order to be transported.

262 Almost all the mammals are eaten, felines being the principal exception. A few snakes are eaten; others are not. The babilla /an amphidious reptile/ is also eaten. Birds of prey, such as hawks, eagles, vultures, and turkey buzzards and others, are not eaten. Almost all the other birds are eaten, even the little humming birds.

/442/ Meat is considered an essential part of the diet and perhaps occupies the second place of importance after platanos.

226 Fishing.

Several types of toxins are used to poison fish in the small currents of water. One of these is a bejuco. Another is the shell of an edible nut with a prickly husk. Another is the bark of a certain tree of great size.

226 462 857 When the waters lower in streams and swamps (generally around the months of January and February), women and children go out armed with clubs and come back with baskets full of fish.

/442 cont./

221 462 When the larger river is low, the men wade into the current and shoot at the fish with their arrows with bone points. Then, since the arrow lacks a string with which one could pull in the fish, they must run after the game in order to finish it off with blows of the machete or club.

226 For fishing they are beginning to use hook and line with increasing skill.

262 Almost all species of fish and aquatic animals are eaten.

222 262 Honey.

To obtain honey, the usual method is to cut down the trunk in which the hive is found, using the ax. Nevertheless, they sometimes manage to climb it and obtain the honey without needing to knock it down. There is also a species of bee which lives in the ground, and its honey must be dug up. They possibly eat the honey of some ten or more varieties of bees.

Eggs.

The eggs of the majority of the wild birds are collected and cooked. They wrap them in leaves and place them on the embers of a wood fire. They are cooked in a short time. Some prefer to eat the eggs when /443/ the chick has begun to form. Turtle eggs are also eaten, but they are scarce, except downriver.

Insects.

Bees are eaten when they are still in the larval form in their nest. Wasps are chased away by means of a torch of dry leaves, which kills or chases away the adult wasps. Then they take down the wasp's nest, which they place for a short time over the hot embers. Roasted wasp larvae are then eaten with pleasure.

Wild fruits and seeds.

It seems that there is not a time without at least a few types of wild fruits and seed in season. Most of these are eaten raw, although a few are cooked. During its harvest, the wabu -- a large seed similar to the frijol -- can be very important, especially when other foods are scarce.

/443 cont./

Domestic Animals

231 Dogs are raised and generally used in hunting.

Birds of almost all types are captured when they are found before leaving the nest. Most of these only survive a few days. It seems that the parrots manage to survive in captivity much better than the other birds, so that almost all the settlements have a domesticated parrot. Turkeys and cranes are included among the other birds which can survive and reach the adult state.

Domesticated monkeys are also favorite animals. It is interesting to observe that almost without exception the monkey is the property of a woman. Doubtless this is related to the fact that women nurse the little monkeys until they are weaned. The mother monkey must be killed in order to be able to capture the little monkey.

Small rodents, such as squirrels and vesper mice, are brought to the house sometimes to be domesticated. One family even went so far as to raise a wild pig (chácharo).

231 766 /444/ When a domestic animal dies, it is incinerated outside the settlement, near some path. Its bones are left in the same spot where they were when the fire consumed them.

241 ## Agriculture

Platanos and banana trees occupy nearly 90 per cent of the cultivated lands. Other fruits include sweet yuca, bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, mapuey /yams/, sugar cane, maize the pijiguao palm /peach palm/, pepper, the papaya, and the sweet potato.

241 524 302 [781] 302 [276] Tobacco, cotton, and onoto /annatto/ are the principal nonedible products. Other nonedible products include a grass whose stem is dried and used for cutting the hair; a variety of root similar to the wild onion is used in magic for hunting, for obtaining a wife, etc.; especially fragrant leaves are used by the women in their ears; and the ingredients used in the processing of "yopo," a narcotic which is blown into the nose.

/444 cont./

241 The land is cleared by first pulling out all the small plants and stems; then the trees which reach a trunk diameter of around 25 centimeters are cut with a machete, and finally the large trees are cut down with an axe.

[313] Sometimes they climb the tree and attach a liana to it so as to be able to pull it to direct its fall.

After the trees have had sufficient time to dry out on the ground, they cut off the branches and pile them up with the underbrush in order finally to burn them. Owing to the abundance of rainfall, it is impossible for them to wait for a dry period. I have seen them burn the weeds in their conuco after it had rained heavily the night before. Sometimes they must bring dry firewood in order to make the damp weeds burn.

An old woman told me one day: "These people of today [412] have it easy. We did not have machetes and axes in former [178] times. Fire was our principal tool. /445/ We had to carry a lot of firewood to pile up around the trees in order to bring them down by fire."

412 There is an indication in their language that at one time they 174 used stone axes before being able to acquire metal axes and [92] machetes. They use the same word, "boo," to designate both the machete and a certain stone which they use for grinding the "yopo" powder. This stone has the proper form for making an ax out of it, if a handle were attached to it. Nevertheless, the relationship between these objects, if there was one at one time, is unknown to the present generation of El Platanal.

241 A bow without a string or a similar stick is the principal 412 instrument which they use for planting. They use it both to loosen the small banana stems for replanting and to open holes in the ground for holding practically any kind of seed.

249 Tobacco is planted first in a garden bed and then transplanted. The small plants are protected from the sun for a few days by means of platano leaves put on a covering for shade.

241 Sometimes a few stakes are fixed in the ground to indicate plantings near the paths, thus keeping the seeds or young plants from being stepped on.

/445 cont./

241 Many of the Guaika /Waica/ are very careful with regard to weeding their plantings, especially when the plants are small. Later, when the plants have reached a good development, they weed the plantings less frequently. Then, perhaps three or more years later, when the land has begun to yield less produce, they cease weeding it altogether and harvest only what has managed to grow by hard efforts.

222 Generally, there is found in these "conucos," at least in the abandoned ones, the "pijiguao" palm. This is because the "pijiguao" begins to produce about the time the earth has become too poor for other produce.

222 481 The fruit of the "pijiguao" palm is harvested by loosening the bunches by means of a long pole with a hook. When the palm has grown too much to perform /446/ this operation from the ground, the Guaika climb it, using two devices, each one made out of a pair of sticks tied together in the form of an X, which, although being adjusted to the thorny trunk of the palm, can be slid up or down while the climber keeps his foot on one of these platforms (see Fig. 1). Once the bunch has been reached and loosened, it is carefully lowered to the ground, tied to a liana to prevent the fruit from being damaged by a fall from such a height. /I [illegible] Fig. 1 appears here./

241 [462] The men are the ones who clear the "conucos." The women go to the "conucos" more than anything in order to transport the harvests to their homes.

241 859 [423] Every family has its own "conuco." Frequently the boys begin to prepare their own "conucos" at an early age (at about 11 years old). Even boys seven years old succeed in having a few of their own plants in the "conuco" of their father or of their older brother. Other boys only help their father in the plantings and have little or nothing until they reach 18 years of age or more.

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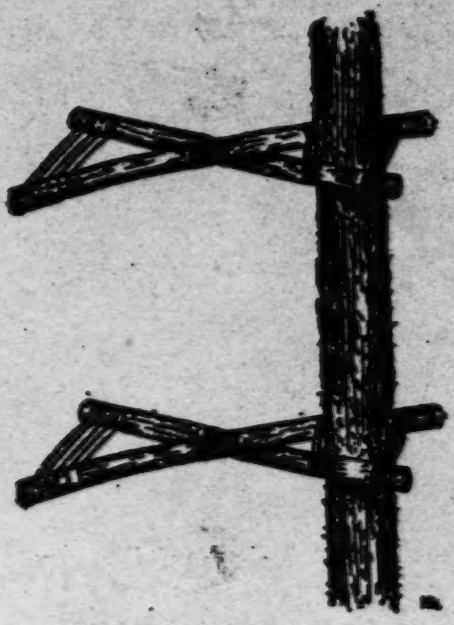

/Fig. 1 / See p. 16 for explanation./

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The Fiesta of the Harvest of "Pijiguao"

527 The fiesta of the harvest of the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm
574 (Bactris gasipaës) is perhaps the most important event of the year. During this harvest everybody has food to spare and consequently
[484] can receive all those who want to visit them. As a result of this there is a great deal of traveling during this period.

[628] Frequently two or three settlements gather in order to celebrate the fiesta. Then one part will go to celebrate the same fiesta in other friendly settlements.

The hosts, and sometimes the visitors as well, go out on a hunting trip, which lasts for several days, until they collect a sufficient quantity of meat. This meat is smoked and preserved for the fiesta.

527 When the hunters come back, the fiesta begins at night with considerable joy and singing. The hunters gather and march around the interior patio of the settlement several times. Then
[526] there begins a mock battle with cudgels. Those who have axes or machetes use these in place of cudgels. They are waved about in the air in a way similar to an attack in fencing or fighting with cudgels. The weapons clash together, but blows are not struck at the body.

After this comes the fire procession. Every man takes a burning torch from the fire and joins the others who go around and around the periphery of the great circular patio formed by the huts. From time to time, when passing in front of one of the surrounding ranchos, they rap with the torch on one of the straight supports which hold up the roof, scattering sparks in the air.

[526] Afterwards, they do what is known as "golpeo al pecho" /hitting the chest/. The boys and a few men pair off against those of another settlement and carry out a duel of blows on the chest. One will present his chest while the other hits it with the side of the fist.

[533] All of these acts are carried out amidst much jubilation and singing. Sometimes this is repeated on the following night.

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527 After this comes the daytime ceremony. A great deal of
276 "yopo" is prepared and placed near the center of the group of huts. Some six or eight boys of the "host" settlement march around the patio and then toward the place where the "yopo" is. Another group of boys follows them rapidly. As each group arrives at the center, the boys receive a puff of "yopo" in the nose. After each and every one of the boys has taken the "yopo" through the nasal passage, the men follow them in the same way, in groups of six or eight. And when all of the "hosts" are in the center, the ones representing the "guest" or visiting settlement, follow them in the same "yopo" ceremony.

527 When each and every one has received his portion of "yopo,"
526 the group of men begins to march around in the center of the
276 circular patio of the settlement. After a few minutes have passed, the men begin to separate off in pairs. The most violent of them begin having duels of blows on the chest. Others, seated by pairs on the ground, talk among themselves in the manner of the crooned messages.

The duels of blows on the chest receive the greatest attention. All those who are not paired off are watching. Also many of the women come to watch them. The group of onlookers approaches so close that only a part of them can manage to see what is actually happening.

527 Some of the men who have taken too much "yopo" lie im-
276 potently on their backs and are dragged out of the sun into the shade of the houses by the women.

And others who have taken a certain excess of "yopo" keep walking around, and their wives have great difficulty in keeping them inside the settlement. If they manage to get into the woods with no one watching over them, they may find themselves in grave danger.

[574] After a while, everything begins to quiet down. Meat and
[484] as much "pijiguao" as it is possible to carry are given to the guests for their return trip. Thus they may take as long as a week on the trip to their settlement without running out of provisions.

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Preparation of Food

251 To keep meat from spoiling, it is first dried directly over the fire. Then it is kept on a rack over the fire, perhaps for several hours, but frequently all night. After this, it is placed a bit farther from the fire, but where the air will keep it dry, although not necessarily warm. I have seen meat kept for some ten days in this way, and doubtless it would have lasted longer had it not been eaten.

252 Meat preserved in this way is still regarded as raw and must be cooked in a pot before being eaten.

Small animals are cleaned, washed, and then boiled whole in a pot. If the animal is large, it is cut up into pieces small enough to fit into the pot. The custom of leaving the skin and [194] hair on them while they cook is perhaps a survival from the time when they did not have knives for skinning them. A string or piece of bark is tied to each piece of meat in order to be able to take it out of the pot to turn it. From time to time they take the meat out in order to prick it many times with a stick so that it will cook more quickly.

When it is finally ready, the head of the family, or the owner of the meat, shares it or divides it into portions which he distributes among his relatives or friendly families.

462 The task of cooking the meat is man's work. He is the
252 owner of the pot, does the hunting, looks for the firewood, and divides and distributes the cooked meat. (Sometimes he sends a boy to deliver the meat to some family on the other side of the circle of dwellings.)

313 The gathering of firewood for cooking food other than meat
462 and for keeping the family warm at night is woman's work. For
[412] this reason the women use the ax much more than the men do.

252 Green platanos are generally peeled and placed directly over the embers, turned a few times, and /450/ taken off when they are found ready to eat. Or they may be placed on a live fire to be cooked, but without being peeled, in order that they may not be blackened. If it is necessary to cook a large quantity of green platanos quickly, they are peeled and boiled in a pot.

/450 cont./

252 Ripe platanas are eaten raw or are boiled and mashed in the form of a soup to be drunk. Half-ripe platanos are placed on the fire with their skin.

The fruit of the "pijiguao" is preferred boiled, although it may be cooked directly on the fire when a pot is not available.

"Sweet yuca," the "mapuey," the "ocumo," the sweet potato, and other edible roots are boiled or roasted directly over the fire.

"Bitter yuca" is pounded on a stone. The juice is squeezed out between the hands, and balls are made with the pulp, or dough, and hung in a basket in such a way that the breeze caused by the fire strikes it. The poisonous juice is preserved with strong peppers and ashes to prepare a liquid which they call "yubu," in which certain foods are dipped and eaten. The cooking of the yuca "dough" is done on a piece of broken pottery. First a layer of this yuca is spread out, being left there until it is to be eaten. This cake is not turned, but is taken off altogether in order to put another one in its place. Then the first cake is placed on top of the second one in such a way that its uncooked side is joined to the latter, and they are left to cook until both are stuck together, then being considered ready. Cakes of some 15 to 20 centimeters in diameter and from one-half to one centimeter in thickness are made in this fashion.

Fish and little birds, larvae, and certain insects are wrapped in leaves and cooked over the embers. Small pieces of meat are also frequently cooked in this fashion.

[222] A large seed in the shape of a frijol, called "wabu," is gathered and eaten. The Indians believe that this seed is poisonous, for which reason they prepare it in the following fashion. It is cooked and thinly sliced. Then it is placed in baskets and put under running water. After remaining for three or /451/ more [262] days under the water, it is considered edible. This seed serves as a reserve in case of a shortage of platanos in the conucos. On such an occasion the whole group moves to live in a place where there is an abundance of "wabu," until the platanos ripen.

/451 cont./

251 The Guaika /Waica/ do not keep reserves of food. All of their foods are cooked fresh or at least within a period of two weeks from the time they are ready. Therefore, in case their conucos have a scarcity of produce, they must go to live in the forest, gathering seeds, fruits, and roots, and devoting more [628] time than usual to hunting and fishing. When another settlement has an abundance of food in a time of scarcity, it would be very fortunate to be able to live completely from this settlement instead of having to subsist from the forest.

Consumption of Food

263 No salt is consumed as such, that is, as salt properly speak- [824] ing. They eat wood ashes, especially the ashes of a tree called "kololi." The ashes may be eaten as they are or with hot water poured over them to obtain a tasty liquid. To this liquid, called "ubu," is added strong peppers. Platanos and other foods are dipped in the resulting sauce to flavor and ingest them.

261 Clay is also dried and eaten, especially the clay from certain nests of insects.

[862] No child may be weaned until it has learned to eat the said ashes and clay.

Earth and clean dust are also eaten. They are considered clean if they are taken from a place where a fire has recently burned, from a river bed, or from a bare spot or bank of sand which the sun has been able to purify.

264 Their hours for eating are as follows: Breakfast is taken shortly after sunrise, and the second turn when they come back from work in their "conucos," generally at some time near midday. They eat again near /452/ sunset. This schedule varies, being adjusted for hunting trips, moving from the settlement, etc. They eat quite a lot between meals, especially wild fruits and bananas and ripe platanos.

/452 cont./

252 Women generally roast the platanos for everyone's breakfast. At noon and in the evening, everyone cooks his own platanos. To a child of seven they might give three green platanos in
[866] their skins, telling him: "Here is your dinner." The child then proceeds to cook them.

264 The Guaika /Waica/ in general have abundant food and eat it with pleasure. They do not look kindly upon remains of food being left. Anyone who does not lick his bowl clean after having drunk his soup of platanos is considered a prodigal.

266 The mere idea of cannibalism is rejected with horror, al-
765 though they do eat the pulverized bones of a cremated relative, after having kept them in a hermetically sealed gourd for about six months.

262 They do not eat carnivorous birds and animals, but carnivorous fish, even the caribe (piranha), are eaten with pleasure. Some
[252] snakes are eaten, others not. They boil them or else they cook them wrapped in leaves upon the embers.

271 Drink, Drugs, and Excesses

The Guaika /Waica/ take extreme care concerning the water they drink. The supply of water for a settlement must be obtained upstream from all the fords which cross the stream or brook. If a Guaika finds it necessary to drink water in a place below a ford, he makes a hole in the sand of the beach and waits until water which has filtered through it gushes up. The water of the current is considered dirty, just as the water from the hole dug
[415] in the beach is clean. Water is transported in gourds by the women for use in the settlement.

273 The Guaika do not prepare any alcoholic beverage.

276 Tobacco leaves are rolled up with ashes and placed in the mouth behind the lower lip. When there is a shortage of tobacco, /453/ they obtain a certain bitter root in the forest, strip the bark from it, and place it behind the lip to diminish the desire for tobacco.

/453 cont./

276 Several varieties of "yupo," of different degrees of strength, are prepared with leaves, bark, and ashes of bark. In the form of powder, it is blown by another into the nose of the one using it. The helper is the one who blows it, but the one using it fills the little tube and consequently is the one responsible with regard to the amount taken.

The "yopo" is connected with their religion and must be taken in order to carry out most of the sorcery, magic, or spells. Nevertheless, some become so addicted to the drug that they take it in great quantities and remain under its influence from midday until evening almost every day.

"Yopo" greatly enlarges the pupil, to the point of almost covering the entire iris of the eye.

The intoxication which it produces is similar to that caused by alcohol, but the effect passes sooner. An excessive dose may leave a person flat on his back, foaming at the mouth, and without strength enough to get up or to resist anything which might be done to him.

291 Clothing

The item of clothing which is fundamental for both men and women is a cord tied around the waist. Men are not considered decently dressed if they do not have the penis held up by the foreskin by the aforementioned cord.

([177]) There is a desire to obtain trousers and shirts for protection against insects.

302 Ornaments

The predominant style of cutting the hair is that of shaving the upper part of the cranium, leaving a border of hair about five centimeters wide around it. The lower edge of /454/ this border of hair should come exactly to the upper edge of the ears and a short space above the eyebrows. The straighter and more abrupt the lines of the hair, the better is the haircut. Sometimes they let the hair grow over the whole head. Sometimes, in order to rid themselves of lice, they shave the entire head. The whole head may be shaved for other reasons as well.

/454 cont./

304 All have the ears pierced. A good number of men and women also have the center of the lower lip pierced. Some women have the corners of the mouth pierced, and a few have the nose pierced.

304 The boys and men wear sticks through their ears, sometimes
301 feathers or also little sticks with feathers. Those who have the lip pierced keep a little stick or a feather there all the time.

The women wear flowers or leaves in their ears. The perforations in the lips and the nose generally have sticks in them. On gala occasions, the little stick which goes through the nasal septum may be as long as the face is wide.

301 In addition to the cords tied around the waist, they frequently
291 wear similar cords around the arms and legs.

The men may also wear a heavy cotton belt and similar bands on a smaller scale on the arms. They may wear feathers fixed on the shoulders and a monkey tail around the head, to emphasize the border of hair, or they may adorn the hair with down.

The women also use a heavy cotton belt, clearly different from the one which the men use.

Girls wear a band at the waist, woven of cotton, with decorations on its front part. They also customarily cross the chest with bands of cotton.

302 Onoto, charcoal, and several other paints are used for body
53 designs. They do not seem to have any religious meaning, but
[386] simply an ornamental purpose. These designs include dots, stripes, wavy lines, and circles. Sometimes they paint a wide strip and then make the design by scraping off the paint. They also imprint upon the skin /455/ ornamental designs by using a "mapire" or the hand, or some combination of these. It seems that some of them have their favorite designs.

Hides, Textiles, and Weaving

239 The skin of the jaguar or of another mammal rarely reaches the settlement in a single piece. But even if it did, it is immediately cut into small pieces so that each one may have a little piece to cover his quiver, or at least a band to wear tied to the arm.

/455 cont./

283 Cotton is spun by means of a hand spindle. This thread is then twisted into three-thread cords.

Various fibers of bark are twisted to make bowstrings or fishing lines. These same fibers of bark are frequently plaited to make hammock strings.

The fiber of a certain plant similar to the pineapple is also extracted and twisted, producing a very tough cord.

284 The knots which the Guaika /Waica/ make are very simple and practical. The timber hitch is employed in all cases in [411] which a flexible cord is used. This includes the stringing of the [352] bows. The hammock is hung using a timber slipknot. This knot is made in such a way that it can be instantly untied by a pull. The square knot is used to join the ends of two cords. In the accompanying Fig. 2, we show drawings of the three knots concerned.

287 /456/ A band of bark is made for carrying children. First
854 they obtain a stick of the right size, which is beaten with another stick for several days. The scaly outer bark comes off. Finally, the smaller end of the cylindrical bark is inserted into the larger end (of greater diameter), and the two are then firmly sewed together. The result is a band or strip without rough or cutting edges, which remains flexible and useful for many months.

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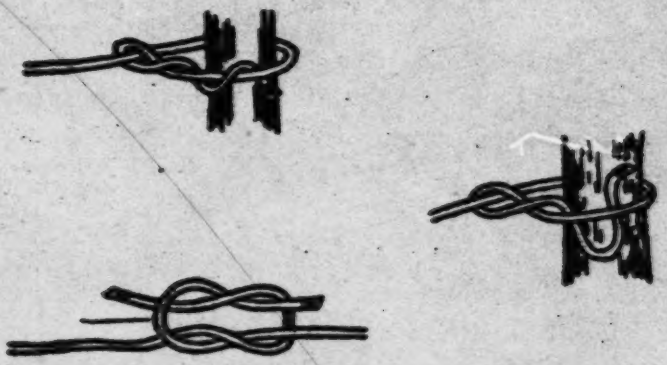

/Fig. 2/

/456 cont./

Preparation of Basic Materials

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321 The Guaika /Waica/ make their arrow points out of bone. When they obtain a small piece of bone, they quickly transform it into a good arrow-point for killing birds. The long bones of legs and arms of monkeys are broken, and the sharp points which generally result have a form similar to that of arrowheads, are worked and finished, with the rest being thrown away. To give them shape, the points are scraped with knives or machetes and rubbed on some stone.

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321 I also saw a whistle or a flute which seemed to be made out of bone or out of a quill of large size.

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[824]
[239]
[412] The Guaika make their bows out of wood. They generally select the wood of the "pijiguao" palm. They give it a rough shape, using the machete. They achieve the final form by scraping the piece with the jawbone of a wild pig, the teeth constituting the cutting edges.

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[239] They do wood carving with a small knife, which consists of the tooth of a rodent. With this tooth they manage the fine work of putting notches in the arrows. They also shape bamboo arrow-points and the oblong lower part of the apparatus for making fire.

They devote as much as half a day to carving the handles *for their axes and machetes. They use the machete to shape them.*

323 The Guaika make their pots of mud. The clay is obtained in specific places. This frequently requires a day or more of travel. Once the clay has been brought to the settlement, /457/ they go about extracting the stones from it while kneading it, moistened, for several hours. The pot is begun by taking a ball of mud which is given the shape of a bowl. Then they go on adding rings of mud which they join to the pot. The vessel is scraped and shaped with a piece of broken totuma /fruit of the calabash tree/. During the process of the scraping, they go on increasing the size of the pot. They keep the clay damp and plastic, spitting on it from time to time. After this they put the pot out to dry in the sun and finally bake it in the fire. The vessel comes out of

/457 cont./

323 [114] the fire quite blackened when well baked. On my last trip up-river I had the good luck to see how one of these pots was made, except for the baking in the fire. In spite of being very fragile, these pots are highly esteemed for cooking.

Constructions

342 335 The Guaika /Waica/ dwelling is a roof with only one slope and no walls. The basic structure is a triangle of beams supported at its vertices by uprights. The highest angle is supported by a long upright, while the two lower angles are held up by two short crossed stakes at each corner. Or one of these lower corners might be fixed to a living tree for greater stability.

The uprights are pointed at their lower end and stuck into the ground repeatedly until they are quite firm. Then the main beam, or bearing beam, is tied in place horizontally between the short uprights on which the roof is supported. Then the two diagonal beams which form a triangle with the mainbeam are put in place, and on this basic triangle are added four beams inclined toward both sides. Then the small beams which form the framework which will bear the leaves are put on top. (Fig. 3./see p. 29/.)

342 [824] The leaves are placed on top like tiles, but are not tied in place. Brush /breñas/ and sticks are put over the leaves so that the wind will not blow them off. Sometimes palm leaves and brush are drawn up against the back eaves so as to form a sort of back wall. /458/ /[illegible]/Fig. 3 appears here./

This basic structure may vary, two or more ranchos being joined laterally and their roofs united.

On sites more suitable for more stable constructions (that is to say, where there is considerable clayey ground and consequently fewer fleas or "niguas"), the Guaika build dwellings with the palm leaves of the roof fixed in place. These dwellings are similar to the more temporary constructions, but are generally larger, and the small beams of the framework are replaced by strings of vine stretched lengthwise across the inclined beams. The palm leaves are fixed to these strings, their stems being bent backwards and down, thus piercing the lower layer of leaves.

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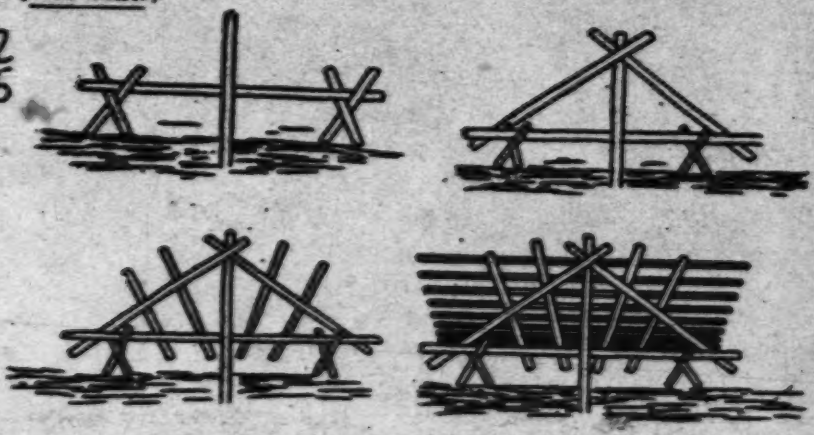

/Fig. 3/

342

The drawings of Fig. 4 show the two systems of fixing the palm leaves on top of the framework of the roof.

/Fig. 4/

/459/

352 [364] Hammocks are hung triangularly from the posts which support the roof, and a fire is lighted in the center. If it is necessary, one hammock may be hung above another, in such a way that this triangle of two meters may shelter six persons (Fig. 5).

351 [361] These dwellings are located so as to form a circle, with their high and open fronts oriented toward the center of the patio. This space surrounded by the dwellings may or may not

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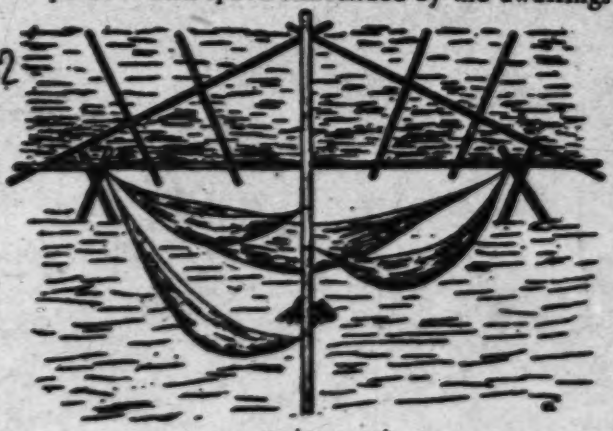

/Fig. 5/

351 be completely cleared, but at least all of the small brush is removed from the front and immediate sides. Sometimes they also clear the ground of weeds for space of one meter behind the houses.

356 The dirt floor is cleaned by sweeping or scraping it at least once a day (although between one cleaning and another there might well accumulate on it many platano skins and other objects). The rubbish is piled up, using the hands or a piece of firewood; then it is carried and thrown outside of the central patic Great piles of rubbish and waste accumulate at the edge of these cleared areas. Sometimes they use a flat basket for carrying the rubbish, and very frequently it is carried with nothing but the hands, since they do not always have a basket available, or it might be in use for other jobs.

/460/ Hygienic Measures

514 Toilets for the elimination of excrement are absent. They consider the edge of the patio sufficiently far away for urination. To defecate they go into the forest at some distance from the settlement and away from the paths. An old fallen tree trunk is the preferred site for squatting down, and dry sticks take the place of toilet paper.

No one is capable of intentionally touching dung with the hand or foot. It is considered very dirty, and if one did touch it, his hand or foot must be cleaned and washed immediately.

The dung of dogs and of infants is removed from the patio by pushing it onto leaves with a stick and then throwing these leaves some distance into the forest.

For their nocturnal movements, they put a few leaves on the ground, with which they then make a package; on the following morning they throw them away at some distance from the settlement.

[136] In El Platanal there is a green beetle which buries hard dung. Half an hour after a movement all evidence disappears.

Sites

361 The center of the area in which the Guaika /Waica/ live is the "conuco." In the forest which surrounds the conuco are located their temporary or semipermanent settlements, this depending on the type of terrain, whether it is sandy or clayey.

342 361 [136] Very simple temporary dwellings are used in areas where the fleas or "niguas" are a problem. This type of house consists of a framework of beams for a roof, with leaves placed on top and held down. These same leaves can easily be taken to the site of a new settlement when the Indians move to another, uninfested area.

A more semipermanent type of construction is preferred where the "niguas" do not present a problem and make it impossible to return to the same site. These houses are of /461/ similar construction, but are larger and more durable, and the leaves of the roof are fixed in place. This type of dwelling or shelter takes about five times longer to build in comparison with the temporary type of dwelling.

/461 cont./

361 166 Regardless of what type of dwelling has been built in the settlement near the "conuco," it is the custom of the Guaika that all leave the settlement after a stay of three to six weeks, when they go off either to visit other settlements or to build another temporary seat within the forest, several miles away from their "conuco."

The groups which have semipermanent dwellings return to the same site and to their same dwellings, while those who use only temporary dwellings settle down in another new locality and build new dwellings, for which they have brought the leaves which roofed the ranchos abandoned on the former site. After an old settlement has not been occupied for at least six months the Indians who return from one of these trips in the forest will sometimes stay in such settlements. The "niguas" will have disappeared during this period of six months.

On any site to which the Guaika habitually return, the trees are sooner or later destroyed, leaving the area of the settlement completely cleared.

342 The Guaika build temporary shelters during their hunting trips, and also when they stop overnight while traveling to visit other settlements or on the return trips from such visits. The type of construction is the same as that of the temporary dwellings built on the sites near the "conuco," except that the covering of the roofs consists of easily found large leaves, such as those of the wild platano.

241 361 The Guaika are continually preparing new "conucos." After a new "conuco" some distance away begins to produce, they may divide their time between both "conucos" in proportion to the quantity of platanos which the old and new "conuco" are producing. Then, as the old "conuco" ceases to produce, they begin to live almost entirely on the new site. But during the harvest /462/ the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm, they spend some time near the "conucos" which have stopped producing platanos, where in contrast, the "pijiguao" palm is at its best time.

If a Guaika family wants to change its place of residence for another settlement, all of the new "conucos" of this family will be prepared in or near that settlement. Thus, after a few years, this family can spend all of its time in its new place of residence, in the other settlement, if this is desired.

/462 cont./

Fire

372 The Guaika /Waica/ use the system of simple rotation to make fire. This consists of a piece of soft wood, flattened on one side and rounded on the other, about four centimeters wide at one end, and whose tapering shape ends in a blunt point at the other end. With the tooth of a large rodent they make a circular cut in it near its broader end, and in this is inserted a slender stick (from 30 to 40 centimeters /sic/ in diameter at its base). This stick is held between the palms of the hands and given a rotating movement until a spark burns in the wood dust which has been formed by the rotation of the stick in the hole made in the board. (See Fig. 6.)

[237] [412]

[824] /463/ The tapered piece of soft wood is of cacao, in which several successive holes can be made, and each hole can be used several times for lighting a fire.

In general there is someone in the settlement who has a fire lighted, so that when some native needs fire he obtains it there. In order to carry fire a short distance, two or three lighted sticks are tied together, forming a fagot. When they travel at night, they carry lighted torches to protect themselves against animals

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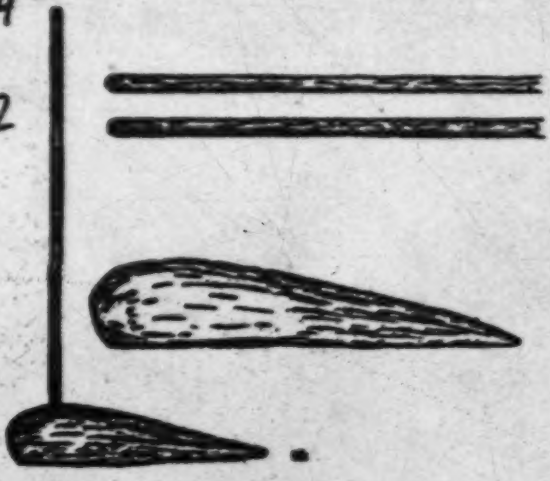

/Fig. 6/

/463 cont./
373 as well as to light the path. Torches of gum and resin are also
416 used sometimes on the paths during the night. but the common
484 type of torch is the fagot of tied pieces of wood. A group which travels at night (as occurs when they are returning after nightfall from the work of fishing) may carry only one torch. Then they stop from time to time to arrange the joined sticks and to revive the fire. keeping it from going out.

373 The wood fire is the principal source of light and heat in the
374 settlements. The fires are kept lighted during the entire night. both to produce warmth and for protection against predatory animals and the spirits of human beings which have returned.

372 There do not seem to be any beliefs or ceremonies related to the production and maintenance of fire.

Weapons

411 The principal weapon of the Guaica /Waica/ is the bow and arrow. They also use macanas.

[824] The bow is made of palm wood. generally of "pijiguao," [283] with a strong string made of threads of bark. This string has three or more threads of twisted bark. which give it great strength.

[249] The shafts of their arrows are made of the festooned part [237] of a certain wild cane. which they cultivate in their "conucos." They feather them with the points of wing feathers of wild turkeys.

Arrow points vary according to the type of game which is to be the target. The wide bamboo point is used /464/ principally against large land animals; the bone one for shooting large and medium-sized birds. and the poisoned points principally for monkeys. Any of these points might be used against man in the event of war. Against small birds they shoot the shaft. first removing the point. or they use a point ramified at the end. made out of a small branch quickly broken off some nearby plant. The accompanying Fig. 7 /see p. 35/ shows the different types of arrow points of the Guaika. /Fig. 7 appears here./

/464 cont./

411 The children make small bows, generally for their games, but
857 they also shoot lizards, which are good bait for fishing. These
[824] bows may be made of several types of wood, but rarely of palm.
The bows of the men are always made of palm.

411 Macanas are used by women for fishing. They are also used
[226] by men in their attacks on other settlements with which they have had more or less friendly relations, for the purpose of recovering the wife or daughter held captive there.

[531]

/Fig. 7/

Poisons

278
[226] A variety of poisons for fishing are used by the Guaika /Waica/. One comes from a vine, another from the husk of a prickly nut, and the third from the bark of a certain thick tree.

[411] Arrow points are poisoned with the poison from the bark of a vine. They scrape the bark, and the scrapings, /465/ wrapped in leaves, are kept dry by hanging them over the current of air from a fire until they are needed.

On the day when an Indian is going to prepare poison, every man of the settlement gets ready to prepare a set of arrow points to be poisoned.

The preparer of the poison begins by pulverizing the scrapings of bark between the palms of his hands. He constantly utters a
[415] series of shouts and grunts while doing this. Then he places the pulverized bark in a funnel made of leaves, into which hot water

/465 cont./

278 [415] /466/ is poured, a few drops at a time. The liquid which seeps through is collected in a toruma. Fig. 8 shows the procedure.

Several fires are lighted around, and after a short time the firewood is scattered so that there will be no flames, but only burning embers.

278 411 Then the sets of arrowheads which are to be poisoned are stuck into bundles made of leaves and placed in such a way that the points remain over the embers. The poisonous liquid is then smeared on the points, in small quantities each time, drying immediately. All the poison is smeared on the points on the day it is prepared. The accompanying Fig. 9 /see p. 37/ shows the procedure. /Fig. 9 appears here./

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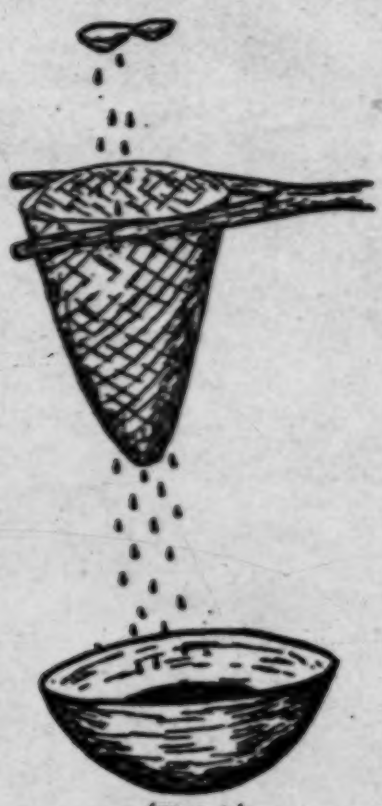

/Fig. 8/

/466 cont./

298
411 Some of the sticks used for applying the poison to the arrow-heads are of palm and have a hole near one of the ends for holding poison. Others have a wad of cotton or of any absorbent material tied to the end in order to be saturated with the poison.

411 When the poison has dried on the arrow points, the latter are kept in the quiver, which consists of a bamboo tube, always ready to be attached to the shaft of the arrow as needed.

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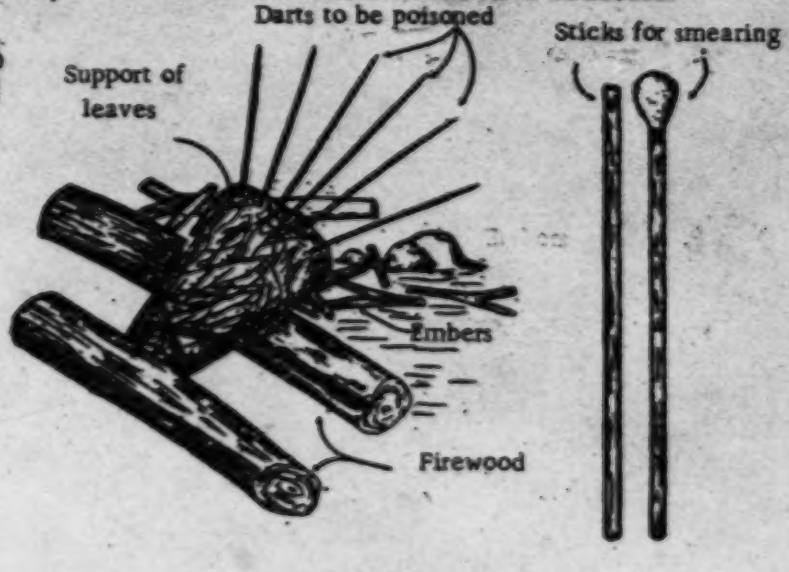

/Fig. 9/

/487/

Property and Ownership

423 Every man has property rights over the land which he has cleared for the planting of the "conuco," until he has abandoned it.

When a settlement returns to a former site, every man has the right to build his new dwelling in the same place where the previous one was, if he should so desire, even when the place might have been covered by the forest, as frequently occurs.

422 Every person possesses his own hammock and ornaments.

[423] The men are owners of the "conucos," the dwellings, the clay pots, hunting and fishing equipment, and that for making fire, and the machetes.

Women possess the baskets, the spinning equipment, the totumas for water, the bands for carrying children, the firewood, and the leaves of the roof.

Both the men and the women may possess axes, knives, mirrors, beads, or other objects which they might have made or acquired.

437 Objects change ownership either by gift or by barter. Bartered objects are generally those which cannot be made or obtained by everyone. These include foreign articles (e.g., machetes, matches, etc.) and also domestic articles which are made only by certain persons or products which everyone does not have the ability to make successfully (e.g., clay pots for cooking, the strongest type of "yopo," totumas for water, and shafts for arrows).

431 Articles to which each and every person has access, such as foodstuffs, water, baskets, and small totumas or gourds, are generally given away when they are divided up. Sometimes even scarce articles are given to intimate friends.

[572]

/467 cont./

Division of Labor

462 The men clear the "conucos," plant them, and weed them.
[241] The women carry most of the harvests to their /468/ houses in
[482] their carrying baskets. The men sometimes help carry the harvests when there is more than the women can carry, or when the men go to the "conuco" alone.

[224] The men do the hunting and carry the game back to the house. They may call upon the women to help them when the game has been brought into the vicinity.

[226] The men fish with bow and arrow, hooks, and poison. The women fish with macanas and with baskets.

[499] The men build the bridges.

[342] The men build the structure or framework of the houses and help build the roofs. The women collect the leaves for covering the roof and help to roof.

[313] The women cut most of the firewood and carry it to the
[482] settlement. They cut it on the site and carry it to their houses in the carrying baskets, ready to be used. The men carry to the house the sticks for roasting meat, and, if they need to be cut into pieces, they do it once they have arrived.

[252] The women in general cook breakfast for the entire family. For the other meals, each person generally cooks his own platanos. The women bake the "casabe" /cassava bread/. The men cook everything which has to be boiled in the clay pots, such as the meat of the game which they have taken and the fruit of the "pijiguao" palm.

[482] When the settlement moves, the women carry almost all the belongings of the family and as much food as possible in their carrying baskets, which they hang from their heads by straps or bands. The men carry their bows, the clay pots, and any food that the women cannot carry. The men use straps or bands hanging from their shoulders or their heads, but not baskets.

/468 cont./

Traveling and Transportation

487 They make almost all their trips on foot by paths and trails. Bridges are built over the largest rivers. Other rivers are waded or crossed on tree trunks.

/469/ New paths are marked by breaking branches in passing. On old roads they indicate the path or paths which have not been taken, leaving some object or a little pile of leaves at the entrance of same. A stick may be tied to an abandoned dwelling to indicate in what direction the former occupant has moved.
621 (A settlement may split up into groups when it abandons the
166 site in the area of the "conuco," and therefore this sign does not necessarily mean that the entire settlement has gone off in that direction.)

166 The Guaika /Waica/ travel frequently, but generally not
628 very far. The nearest settlement -- perhaps a day away -- is usually as far as they go. The settlement beyond this might be an enemy settlement, or at least not very friendly. Even neighboring settlements have such bad relations with one another that
698 they rarely visit among themselves. But the settlements which
574 are on friendly terms visit each other very frequently, and, when both live in the areas of the conucos, visitors come and go between them every few days.

574 The reasons for visiting are principally to see friends or to stay until their own "conuco" (which might be in a period of little production) begins to produce again.

Standards of Living

513
[345] The Guaika /Waica/ consider it essential to sleep every night under a roof. Thus, they always build some sort of shelter.

[354] A fire is also essential. A Guaika will not sleep without a fire at night. He needs it to obtain heat and to protect himself from animals, and with the fire he feels safer from evil spirits.

/469 cont./

513 352 The third essential thing is the hammock. The Guaika must have a hammock in order to sleep at night. In his dwelling he has a cotton hammock or a hammock made of vines split longitudinally. On a hunting trip he may travel with his hammock made out of cords of vine or without carrying any. In this latter case, each night he will make a temporary hammock /470/ out of cords of bark, and, in case he stays in the same general area, he will use it for several nights. Then, in order to travel light, he will abandon this hammock of cords of bark and will go to his home, where his good hammock awaits him.

262 594 [251] The supply of food which the Guaika have is generally good and apparently quite nutritious. From time to time there is a shortage, and they do not accumulate reserves. Shortages are generally not too serious, for which reason they can usually bear the period of privation, subsisting from a neighboring settlement, which will be paid back for the visit when in its turn bad times come to it.

261 726 The complete loss of a "conuco" as a result of being constantly driven out of the area by an enemy is a quite serious matter. We observed a settlement (that of Bichaasatedi) subsisting with great difficulty for a year until its new "conuco" began to produce, after having been driven out of their former area by a hostile group (the one from Liakoatedi).

352 The Guaika do not make seats, but they rarely sit on the ground if they can avoid it. Generally they sit in a hammock or on a piece of firewood.

512 On an ordinary day the Guaika awake with the dawn. The wife prepares the roasted platanos for the whole family. Around 7:30 or 8:00 the majority of the inhabitants of the settlement go to work in the "conuco." Those who remain in the settlement in general rest the entire morning. Some few women gather in a party and go out to make firewood out of a dead tree, recently fallen. Those who work in the conuco begin to come back at noon. On the way to the settlement they bathe in the stream. After a brief rest each person roasts a few platanos for his lunch. Then, around 2:00 in the afternoon, the [276] "yopo" is prepared, and it is blown up the noses of many of the

/470 cont./

512 [276] men. Some of them sing in singsong voices to influence the spirits, while others wander around like drunks. A few do not take any "yopo" at all. These "yopo" cantilenas generally last for about two hours.

In the afternoon a few more women, including some of those who were in the conuco in the morning, go out to look for /471/ firewood. Other women devote themselves to spinning cotton. At about 5:00 in the afternoon the women and girls go down to the stream to fill all the gourds or totumas.

[824] [721] [196] A little before dark, the evening meal ends. Palm leaves are placed so as to obstruct the entrances to the paths against the coming of wandering spirits and also to make greater difficulty for any attacking band coming from an enemy settlement. Every house lights its own fire and prepares for the night. At about 7:00 P.M. all is silent.

[535] [533] [203] [594] But if the moon comes out, the women and children may continue singing and dancing until well into the night. Or when there are visitors who arrived during the day, there might be crooning of news throughout the night, until the coming of the sun puts an end to it.

Names

553 551 Every individual receives a name given by his parents. Until the child receives a name, he is called by any of the standard names that are applied to small children. The use of these standard names is usually prolonged for several years after the boy or girl has received his own name. It is taboo to give one person the name of another. There are no homonyms or namesakes. An individual might be given the name of a plant, an animal, an action, an aspect, or sometimes simply be given some name invented by his parents.

551 Nicknames are given freely. Some have a root, others do not. Usually they are very descriptive and frequently very biting.

It is not good manners to call a person by his name, if it can be avoided. It is always better to say: the older brother of so-and-so, the older sister of so-and-so, the husband of so-and-so, the father of so-and-so, or the mother of so-and-so.

/471 cont./

551 When a person is called by his own name, he frequently returns the insult by calling the offender by his own name.

/472/ The names of persons are distinguished by their masculine or feminine suffixes, in such a way that he can always be sure to which sex the person referred to belongs, even though this might not have been known. The names which end in "-wa" are masculine, and those which end in "-mi" or in "-ma" are feminine.

552 Dogs are also given proper names. Their names are distinguished by the endings for the gender. Other domestic animals rarely receive a proper name and rather are called monkey, parrot, etc.

Relations between Persons

576 The greatest compliment which can generally be made to another person who has acquired a new object is to say: "Give me that." The usual reply is: "No." Such a person is highly pleased to know that he has acquired something desired by another.

574 When a visitor (or group of visitors) comes to visit a settle-
572 ment, he stays outside and decorates himself with painting, feathers, etc. Then, when the inhabitants of the settlement see him coming, they break out in applause. The visitor enters the interior patio of the settlement and stands with his head thrown back, holding his bow and arrows out in front, resting vertically on the ground. When he is invited to enter a house, he goes to it and lies down in a hammock on his back, with his head back, remaining motionless for ten to twenty minutes. (A person who frequently visits the settlement knows the house in which he will be well received and goes to it without waiting to be invited.)

574 Once the visitor has rested, he is offered some food. As soon as he finishes eating, and sometimes even before, he breaks his silence and begins to talk with the group which has gathered around him in order to watch him. Then he remains in this same house, where he is given food as long as his visit lasts. They never think of charging him for the food, but an undesirable visitor is either not invited or advised to leave.

/472 cont./

574 A visitor who comes to a settlement where only one family is friendly with him can expect a very different reception. He can certainly expect the welcome of his friends, /473/ but the rest of the settlement, rather than applauding him, will shout at him: "Enemy group attacking! Enemy group attacking!" And at the same time they will point at him with their bows and arrows and also point all around as if they were going to fight an attacking enemy group. Quite a chilly reception, to say the least!

865 When two lads become angry with each other and fight, each one must be prepared to receive a blow equal to the one which he has given. If one hits the other on the chest with the fist it is expected that the former will present his chest to the latter to receive a like blow, and so forth. The scuffle continues until one of the two considers that he has received enough and refuses to return the blow which he has just received, or until one of the two combatants really gets angry and loses his temper. Then, in general, the others intervene. Frequently, when two boys are fighting, they are encouraged to keep hitting each other until both come to wish that they had never started the fight. The boys quickly learn to be careful not to start a scuffle.

If someone maltreats a lad smaller than he, he can be sure that he will be paid back for it by one of the relatives of the little one or by some spectator.

Marriage and War

584 A matrimonial union can be arranged considerably in advance with the consent of all who are interested. A girl nine years old may already be engaged to some boy.

But more frequently the girl reaches puberty without any arrangement having been made for her future marriage. Then the suitors not only have to solicit the favor of the girl, but also that of the whole settlement where she lives. Frequently it respects the selection made by the girl and rejects the suitors whom she does not want, but the settlement might give her in marriage against her wishes.

/473 cont./

583 628 To a suitor who does not obtain the consent of the girl's settlement there is no other path but to look for a wife elsewhere or to try to abduct the girl in order to make her his /474/ wife. If he decides to do this latter, he gathers together his sympathizers; these are mostly men of the suitor's own settlement, although other friends may also help him. The group attempts to take the girl prisoner at a careless moment, carrying her off by force. The friends of the girl come to help her, starting a hand-to-hand fight. If the suitor manages to flee with the girl, she becomes his wife, but if he fails, he cannot make another attempt at abduction without then being considered a real enemy, and as such he will run the risk of being shot with an arrow and not simply have to put on a fight.

If a settlement decides not to accept the abduction committed for one of its girls for matrimonial purposes, a call for help can be made to a neighboring settlement, all of the men [411] gathering in a band, ready to recover her. The weapons used on such a raid are smooth poles about six feet long, intended not to kill the opponent, but to knock him down, leaving him hors de combat. If such a raid is successful, the girl is returned to her parents. And if the raid fails, any new attempt to recover the girl involves the risk of the attackers' being shot with arrows, since they would then be considered as true enemies. Both the men and the women can fight on the defense in case of such a raid.

A suitor alone or with the help of a few friends may succeed in carrying out the abduction of a wife, generally by finding the girl practically alone and carrying her off to his own settlement. In such cases the settlement of the abductor cannot back him, obliging him to return the woman to her parents rather than to lose their friends in her settlement.

721 302 When a raid to a truly hostile settlement is planned for the purpose of abducting a wife or other objects of value, each one of the members of the attacking band paints himself entirely 726 [411] black or dark maroon. For such raids the weapons are the bow and arrows, and, when the fight starts, both groups shoot to kill. Should the attacking band be small, it can only hope to capture some girl or woman who is alone in her "conuco" or /475/ cutting wood in the forest. Then it will try to escape with the

/475 cont./

726 booty without being discovered, because if they were, they would generally have to abandon the prisoner and flee in order to save their lives.

If the invading band is large, that is to say, made up of several settlements, it might be sufficiently strong to attack all of a full settlement. If an entire settlement can be put into disordered flight, many of the women and girls are easy prey for the attackers. Girls between 12 and 18 years of age are regarded as the best booty. It is almost certain that some of the men, especially of the settlement being attacked, will lose their lives or be wounded in the attack. Not always are women the only booty; every kind of object of value is abandoned in the hasty retreat. Such raids do not occur very frequently, but their possibility keeps the population in constant fear of them.

727 After having thus been attacked, the settlement can decide to abandon the entire area and found a new "conuco" in another area, or all of the friendly settlements might be called on to help in the reprisal raids.

712 When the enemy camps near a settlement at a distance closer
726 than usual, or if there is some other reason to fear a raid, stockades or palisades are built. Posts and poles about 15 centimeters in diameter and two or more meters in length are tied in a vertical position, closing off all the approaches, particularly the pathways. Palm leaves and weeds are piled up against these walls to prevent the enemy from looking through the interstices. On the outside of these palisades, for a distance of 30 to 50 meters, all the trees are cut and left lying in thick underbrush as one more obstacle for the enemy intruders. Furthermore, under the eaves, at the back part of each and every house, they make an additional wall of sticks of firewood longer than usual. Should an attack occur, the women and children throw themselves against these walls of firewood in the back of the houses, while the men take their defensive positions and shout vigorous war cries, making their bows rattle in order to impress the enemy with their number and preparation.

726 /476/ In general prolonged sieges are not attempted, out of fear that someone who came to visit the besieged settlement might have seen the attackers and gone in search of help. As a result of this the source that supplies them with water is generally not defended.

Frequently, before carrying out a larger attack, the attacking settlement moves into the forest so that the families may be sheltered while the men go out to battle.

583 628 If two young persons wish to marry, but one or both of their settlements do not favor their matrimonial union, they may flee to a settlement where they will be accepted and establish their home there. If they do not find a settlement that will shelter them, they must separate and try to contract marriage by the usual means, or they have to abandon their plan altogether.

586 628 A wife maltreated by her husband may flee from him by going to a settlement prepared to defend her, or to one where her husband would not dare go because of being considered an enemy there.

If a wife runs off alone or with another man, the husband may organize an expedition armed with macanas or clubs to regain her, but in this case, too, he can only make one single attempt. If she has taken the children with her, he can try to recover both the wife and the children or only the children, or some of them.

586 If a man abandons his wife, in general nothing can be done about it.

If the man and the woman separate by mutual agreement, the former generally keeps the children. Sometimes the smaller children remain at the side of the mother until they are of sufficient age to cook their own platanos (perhaps five or six years old).

587 The second marriage differs very little from the first marriage. In the majority of cases a virgin is preferred to a widow or to a married fugitive.

581 No man remains unmarried by his own will. If he is unmarried, it is because he has not been able to obtain a wife.

/477/

582 A young woman cannot remain unmarried for a long time, but some manage to reject all their suitors for several years
587 after puberty. A widow, especially a widow with children, sometimes remains alone forever after the death of her husband.

Making Peace

628 When one settlement wishes closer friendship with another,
202 it sends a messenger to offer more friendly terms.

628 If the settlements are only "macana enemies," a messenger
202 of the very settlement that takes the initiative might go, but if
728 the settlements are "arrow enemies," then it is necessary to send a messenger from a settlement which is friendly with both of the settlements in question. The messenger who is a member of a settlement that is an "arrow enemy" would run the danger of being shot with an arrow before giving the message.

628 Thus, two very hostile settlements might manage to suspend
728 the raids between them. Later, they might agree not to fight any more should they see one another in a friendly settlement. Until they arrive at this accord, a neutral settlement friendly to both, when it is visited by people from one of these settlements hostile to each other, must send a message to the other, warning that they should not come so long as there are visitors from the hostile settlement in it. Still later they might agree to receive the visit of a small group of visitors from the other
[572] enemy settlement, for commercial purposes. From this time on the two settlements can undertake their negotiations directly, and friendships begin to form among their respective members.
[582] Then, when one settlement, out of good will, gives its own girls as wives to the men of the other settlement, it can be said that they have recovered; they have truly become good friends.

While the greater the number of persons involved in a dispute or a fight, the less the probability that the opposing bands will reach an understanding after a short time, the disputes within a settlement itself are in general settled quickly. Within a few months all will have been forgotten. /478/ Disputes between settlements which have not gone beyond macana fights are usually forgotten in a year or two. Disputes between settlements which have occasion to use arrows, especially if someone has

/478 cont./

628 728 been killed, might require a greater number of years to be reconciled. Disputes which have reached the proportions of regional wars are rarely forgotten within the same generation, since there is hardly any neutral settlement left by means of which peace negotiations can be made.

The Family

591 606 A newly married couple may live in the settlement of the wife's parents or in that of the husband's parents. But if they decide to live in the settlement of the wife's parents, they cannot live in the same dwelling with them, because it is prohibited (taboo) for the husband to approach his mother-in-law. He can enter her house only when she is outside. He would not dare to come any closer to her than three or four meters. If the couple decides to live with the husband's parents, there are no such restrictions, since there is no prohibition against the daughter-in-law approaching her mother-in-law. Even suitors customarily lodge on the side opposite that of the house of their future mother-in-law, in their town.

595 [578] The majority of the men have but one wife. Those who wish to, and are able to, may have two or more wives. This practice makes more acute the shortage of marriageable women and may be one of the principal causes of the fights over wives which are started by men who have remained without any.

When a man has more than one wife, his wives may live in the same house or in several houses in a row. They work together, but each one has her own property. Frequently they are sisters since a man is more likely to marry the sister of his wife than to find another wife elsewhere.

593 Within the family it is the man who exercises authority. I only know of one case where the woman gives orders in the house, and this because her husband is mentally deficient.

/479/

736 Orphans in general are cared for by relatives, but when they do not have any, they are normally adopted. I have never known of any who was left in helplessness.

The Community

621 [62] The population of a seat or settlement varies between 60 and perhaps 120, but most of the settlements have around 100 inhabitants. Smaller groups are afraid to live apart, and therefore they join together to protect themselves. Larger groups soon split up, owing to internal frictions. [578]

[622] Within the settlement there is generally one or two more influential individuals, who not only direct their own families, but several others. When these groups grow sufficiently, they split up and form their own settlements. These groups are found united in a single settlement out of fear.

621 622 578 The largest and most influential group gives orders in the settlement. The result of this is that any struggle for command will not necessarily be a test of strength between two men, but may easily turn into a struggle between the partisans of each of them. The maximum gravity reached by these contests is generally the "macana fight."

626 Public opinion is a powerful force, and even the men of greater influence have to yield on many occasions to the will of the public.

103 Each settlement usually has two names, the one of the present locality and the name of one of the localities previously occupied.

Sickness and Magic

752 753 Some accidents are attributed to carelessness, but many accidents and all sicknesses are attributed to supernatural causes or spirits.

/479 cont./

75 If a child is frightened, the mother or guardian quickly
774 takes a handful of leaves and sweeps the place where the little creature was frightened. They do this so that the child's soul will not run off in fear and the child become sick.

/480/ Sometimes when a child is sick, they believe that the soul of the little creature has abandoned its body. Then they dispatch commissions in pursuit of it, which pass through the sites where they suspect that the child has been, and they come back sweeping the path with some branches and calling aloud for the little creature. If the child improves, it is because its soul was found; otherwise they must have missed the site where it was.

755 They believe that some sicknesses are due to the spirit or
[753] spirits which have got into the body of the sick person. In order
[776] for the sick person to recover his health, the harmful spirit must be cast out of his body. The one who tries to remove this spirit from the body of a sick person first takes a little "yopo" by way of the nasal passage. He then intones a crooning song, while he marches to and fro in front of the patient. Then, from time to time he approaches the latter and rubs the affected part, which he pinches and hits, pulling on it, threatening the spirit and asking it to go away, making all sorts of noises in order to frighten the spirit (or spirits) so that they will go away. After being with his patient for a few minutes, he resumes the crooning. This practice is repeated many times, and if the desired outcome is not obtained, other men will test their forces, trying to cast out from there the harmful spirit.

[776] They might then come to the conclusion that this is not a matter of a sickness caused by a spirit hidden in the body of the sick person, but rather by one which has hidden in some part of the settlement. Thus a group of men organizes a "hunt for the spirit." Each of them takes a little "yopo" by way of the nasal passage, and, after crooning for a short time in front of the sick person, they begin to make an inspection throughout the settlement, house by house, inspecting every basket and corner, swinging machetes and axes, pointing with the arrows, blowing through the "yopo" tubes as if they were blowguns, continuing the whole

/480 cont./

755 time their croonings and threats directed at the harmful spirit. From time to time they pick up some object which they take with them. Sometimes they finish by inspecting the whole circle of houses, but more frequently the one who heads the "hunt for the spirit" points with his finger at some object, which one of them picks up, the whole group suddenly rushing toward the hut where the sick person is.

755 /481/ Frequently one of those who participate in the "hunt
787 for the spirit" falls into a paroxysm, which he generally ends with a tremendous leap into the air, to fall unconscious on the ground. The women immediately bring water and after a while manage to revive him.

On one occasion a man who was crooning before a sick child suddenly lost his mind and began to say strange things. It seemed as though a strange power had seized him, to the point where it was necessary for six men to hold him so that the women could throw water on him to bring him out of his spell.

754 They also believe that a man can "send" a sickness or misfortune to another. Frequently the majority of the croonings which they intone in the evenings when they have taken "yopo" are designed to "send" calamities to their enemies.

754 On a certain occasion, when all were camped about two
752 hours of travel from the settlement, a girl was bitten by a poison-
123 ous snake. Her father came to get me to treat her. He told me that he was very angry, and he asked me if it were I who had sent the snake. He was very pleased when I assured him that I had not sent it.

754 They believe that a person can cause an enemy great harm, sickness, and even death, by gathering up "the track" of the enemy and rubbing it between the palms of the hands. For this reason the Guaika /Waica/ do not like to walk in front of somebody who is not in all certainty his friend, especially over soft earth.

The Guaika prepare certain powders which, when they are thrown in the air or blown in the direction of an enemy, can cause him annoyances or harm, according to what they believe, although the said enemy might be many miles away in another settlement.

/481 cont./

832 They believe that another substance is effective against women, especially if it is thrown at them. They use it to frighten them, and it also forms a part of the ceremony in which a man shows his preference for a woman whom he wishes to make his wife.

784 753 There is a taboo with respect to the burning of cloth or paper. The burning of cloth or paper, according to what they believe, causes sickness and /482/ perhaps death. The Guaika do not dare to do it "against an enemy," since they are afraid that they might die also.

753 705 Men cannot see a "bole" -- the spirit or soul of a dead person which has returned -- but women can see them on occasion, and, when they do, it is almost certain that the "bole" will make them sick. The "bole" has two eyes like embers, a cold skin, and in general has human forms. It customarily passes by way of the paths, especially at night, and frequently returns to abandoned settlements. They can talk and shout like a man; and many strange noises which are heard in the woods are attributed to the nearness of a "bole." The fall of a tree by itself is also attributed to a "bole."

[781] Once a woman told us about her encounter with a "bole." She had been awakened by something which touched her and hit her in the ribs. When she woke up, a voice said to her: "There are enemies outside." She became very frightened and did not go back to sleep for the rest of the night.

The mere presence of a "bole" is considered sufficient to cause an acute pain in some part of the body.

Frequently we were asked by the Indians if there were "boles" the night before in the surroundings.

It is believed that the "boles" travel alone in open country. Thus, they assume that a few palm leaves obstructing the entrance to the path are usually sufficient to block their way. It is also believed that fire is an effective weapon against the "boles" whereas an arrow would be useless.

751 There is a belief that a certain seed is efficacious for keeping danger away from the children. They string these seeds as if they were beads and hang them around the child's neck.

/482 cont./

753 Any strange or rare object can be considered to have given rise to an epidemic. According to their knowledge and understanding, it might be some kind of foreign sorcery.

755 The Guaika appreciate our medicine for the treatment of
177 sores and sicknesses, but for them this medicine is simply another enchanted or magical substance.

752 /483/ The treatment which they use for a bee sting is to tie the member thus hurt with a piece of vine or string above the sting. They also suck the poison out of the wound.

The treatment for the bite of a spider or snake is similar, tying and sucking. Later, the croonings are considered appropriate for driving away evil forces.

If a man is wounded by a poisoned dart, the wound is sucked and he will live. If he is wounded where the poison cannot be sucked out, he will quickly die. When an animal or a man is mortally wounded by a poisoned arrow, he falls, loses control of his muscles, and then dies, shuddering, perhaps when the poison reaches the heart or lungs.

751 One who has killed an enemy on a raid must sit down on
757 the ground and, taking a little piece of vine (perhaps some two centimeters in length), has to scrape one side of his own head in different places. If he fails to do this, some evil may overtake him.

755 Sick persons receive all possible care, in addition to all the
758 incantations and exorcisms which are cast against the opposing forces of the spirits.

758 A sick person is well fed. If it is not possible for him to take certain foods, the Guaika will make every possible effort to get for him what he can eat.

An old woman who had an infection in her mouth and a throat so large that it was almost impossible for her to swallow anything was given honey as food. They tipped her head back and poured the honey into her mouth. They had a fire lighted for her all the time, and someone was with her constantly. When the settlement moved, she was carried on a man's back by means of a strap or cord such as is customarily used for loads or small children.

/483 cont./

758 515 They bathe sick persons. If the patient cannot go to the stream, they bathe him part by part at home and even in his own hammock.

/484/ Death

763 They are generally afraid of death and make every effort to keep a dying person alive for a while longer. When someone is in danger of dying, the relatives and friends hold meetings for lamentations at least once a day.

764 [302] When a dying person expires, a time of mourning begins. Then, at about 3:00 in the afternoon, the funeral begins. The relatives and friends begin to paint themselves. There is much [535] crying and lamentation. The women dance forward and backward, groaning and carrying several poisoned darts in one hand. If there are young children, they are frequently carried also. If the deceased is a little one, its little body may be carried during the final part of this mourning dance. A few closely related men and the intimate friends also participate in the dance.

After the lamentations have continued for a quarter of an hour more or less, the men go out in search of firewood and light a fire of two meters in front of the dwelling where the corpse is lying. When the fire reaches an adequate size, the body is carried there in a hammock made of cords of vine and placed on the fire. Then they put more wood on top of the [766] corpse. If the deceased is an infant, they place it in the fire in a flat basket rather than a hammock. They keep the fire burn- [765] ing until around ten at night. Then they gather up the bones, wrap them in leaves, and hang them in the house.

If someone should die far from the settlement, his body is wrapped in leaves tied with vines and carried to the settlement to be cremated.

765 About three days after the cremation, the bones are pulverized in a small trough and then kept hermetically in a gourd capped with beeswax. The trough is made by using a machete to carve out the hole, burning its interior. They use it only once. After it is used, both the trough and the pestle are burned. Much weeping accompanies the process of pulverization and sealing the remains in the gourd.

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765 This funerary gourd which contains the remains is kept with the other objects that belong to the family. Then, one [766] fine day, they prepare a soup of platanos in which they mix the powdered bone. The near relatives drink this soup. All weep at this moment, as at the first funeral.

795 The Guaika believe that the correct observance of these practices has much to do with the life of the person after his death. If they do not manage to recover the body of a man killed in war and cremate it, his death is considered a doubly great calamity. A statement such as that of "We shall not cremate you when you die" consequently means a powerful threat.

Religion

[772] The Guaika /Waica/ have an idea that one ascends into heaven when one dies. This heaven is a good place, but less desirable than the present life. They also have an idea of hell, a place even less desirable to go to when one dies.

774 A person is for them body, soul, and spirit. The word to 775 designate soul also means "shadow" or "reflection." And the 828 word to designate spirit also means "cloud." Thus, the soul retains the form of the body, but the spirit can be formless.

The soul can abandon the body and return later. A seriously sick person in general loses consciousness while his soul is [753] absent. This is why they frequently go looking for the soul of a sick child, to return it to his body. The soul of an adult, on the other hand, should know how to find its way back.

The spirit abandons the body only with death.

775 A formal cremation and the rites which follow cremation help to ensure that the deceased, upon dying, will go to the most desirable place of the other life.

The Guaika believe that the spirits in heaven eat certain wild fruits. They are afraid that an enemy might /486/ return after death and cause sicknesses and other calamities to the people still corporeal. Many of these incorporeal spirits wander about the paths, especially at night. As we have said before, they are called "<u>boles</u>."

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825 821 [774] Animals do not have spirits. The thunder is the voice of certain creatures who dwell in the clouds. Frequently I have heard the Guaika say: "Listen to how many there are!"

Lightning is a creature similar to a flame /llama, "flame," "llama"/, which during storms leaps to earth in order to eat trees.

"Ekoa" and "Koje" are rivers in the sky. "Omoa" is the one 776 who pours the water from these rivers over the land. The "amajini" are like human beings, but smaller, who live under the surface of the earth.

[753] "Soliliwa" can hide himself in the settlements and cause sicknesses. "Wakaliwa" can get into the human body and cause sickness.

821 The wind is regarded as a very terrible enemy, and they believe that it is sent by an enemy. When a storm approaches, the men go out and try to turn it toward an enemy settlement, or at least they hope to be able to turn it away from their own settlement.

789 754 Sorcery and magic are practiced by most of the men. They believe that by taking a little "yopo" through the nasal passage they may have a greater influence on the spirits. There are re- [756] ligious advisers who apparently know the spirits and recommend the measures which must be taken against them.

802 Numbers and Measures

The Guaika /Waica/ have words to designate "one" and "two." Above these quantities it is necessary to say "few," "several," "many," "a great many," "all," etc. They can say two and one, or two and two, but they generally do not do this. They show exact numbers higher than two by raising their fingers. I have seen them cross the dwelling to see if a person is holding up three or four fingers in the semidarkness. /487/ I have asked for as many as 12 objects and received the exact quantity by showing them four fingers of my hand three consecutive times. They understand this, but to express the idea of 11 is quite difficult for them to understand.

/487 cont./

804 They determine measures by comparing one thing with another. Thus, a man lies down on the ground to determine the distance which separates the posts which he is going to plant for setting up his hammock. In the same way the Indian measures the size of his belt by means of a string before making himself a woven cotton belt of the same length as that obtained with the string.

Weights are determined by lifting the object and mentally comparing its weight with that of other objects which have been lifted previously.

805 Time Reckoning

The Guaika /Waica/ divide the solar day as follows: morning, while the sun rises; the period of midday, while the sun is high in the heavens; afternoon, until the rapid setting of the sun; and night. A more precise time of day is indicated by pointing to where the sun is at the moment, where it was, or where it will be when a certain event will occur.

A period of time is correlated approximately with the distance that can be covered during this time. For example, they say: "We shall arrive at the house when the sun reaches that height (and they point to it)." Or they would say: "He will be back in the time that it would take you to go from here to the river."

The Guaika do keep count of the days. They count the weeks by the phases of the moon. They also count the lunar months. The seasons of the year are reckoned according to the cycle of the fruits. A year is the time that passed between two similar harvests.

1/4 Birth

This part of my essay has been kindly written for me by Mr. Edwin Killam, to whom we must express our thanks for his esteemed collaboration.

/488/

844 [123] James Barker (author of the essay) and I (Killam) were invited to witness the birth of a child. Our house was about 200 meters away from the Guaika settlement. We were able to hear the moans of the woman in confinement. When we arrived at the settlement, the father-in-law of the Indian woman was performing a stimulating dance in front of the dwelling which he shared with his son and his daughter-in-law.

At a short distance behind the house, in a clearing made in the woods and away from the path, there were several women, including the woman in confinement. We were taken along a path near to the place where the women were. There were several other persons observing the event along with us: a couple [123] of men and some children. They seemed to be only slightly interested, the children trying to make us go away from there in order to play with them.

The woman in confinement was walking incessantly from one side to the other, complaining about her pains, until she finally settled down on the ground among some weeds. We waited for some 15 minutes. Then, after having heard the cry of the infant, one of the women assisting called us. The child, a little girl, had just been born. The mother received us with a smile. She had squatted down, holding the baby upright in her lap. Two of the women proceeded to cut the umbilical cord, using a piece of cane, and then they stuffed it with some green leaves.

The mother gathered up the afterbirth with her hands, wrapping it in green leaves which a girl brought her. Another person later took it away. Then the mother rubbed mud and [825] humus over the place where the afterbirth had been. They said that this is done for protection against wild animals.

Meanwhile, someone brought water in a gourd. The mother took a mouthful, which she then squirted gently over her little creature, bathing it with the water warmed in her mouth.

After the little girl had been bathed, they placed her on green, clean leaves, covering her with a few branches. Several of the women walked back and forth above her several /489/ times.

844 123 /489 cont./ They also invited us to do this, but, not knowing the meaning of the practice, we declined to do so.

846 After this, the mother took the little creature and went off to her house. There she rested for two or three days before resuming her work in the "conuco."

844 Later, another child was born at night. We were not there, but we were informed that it had been born in the house, to which green leaves were brought for the birth.

Puberty

881 To reach puberty is an important event, especially for the girls. It is considered that the girl has reached puberty at her first menstruation. Her mother, older sister, or another woman who might be her guardian gathers leaves and builds a wall around her hammock to isolate her from everything. For approximately one week, the girl never leaves this area. Her mother brings her food, water, firewood, and any other things which might be needed.

At the end of this retirement, the girl comes out, adorned with flowers, leaves, cotton belts, strings of beads, and feathers.

Maturity

885 622 A man is considered mature when he has marriageable children. The head of a settlement is frequently a grandfather, but sometimes the settlement may be governed by a somewhat younger man.

Old Age

888 Retirement from active life is somewhat gradual, depending upon the strength of the individual.

Old persons are respected, but they are no longer leaders in the affairs of the settlement. They are cared for even when they are no longer capable of contributing to their own support. /Plates I-V follow./

7: Barker--61 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate I

342
361

The primitive huts of the Guaika, roof-on-posts type, lined up in a broad circle, have their fronts toward the great central patio free of vegetation. (Photo. by the author.)

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Guaika women with their babies. Note the manner of sitting, in El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

7: Barker--62 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Plate II

Waica

A Guaika woman carrying her child by means of a band or strap of bark. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

The women carry great weights hanging from the head and shoulders. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

7: Barker--63 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate III

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The men cook the meat from hunting. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

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302

They produce fire by making a little stick rotate between the palms of the hands, with the friction end resting on a piece of soft wood. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

7: Barber--64 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate IV

302

The Guaika--women and men--shave the head, leaving only a ring of hair all around. Notice the scars on this warrior. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)

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Interior of a Guaika hut, in El Platanal. The platano is one of the principal foods in their diet. (Photo. by the author.)

7: Barker--65 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

Plate V

342
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Interior of a Guaika hut in El Platanal. Note the extraordinary length of their powerful arrows. (Photo. by the author.)

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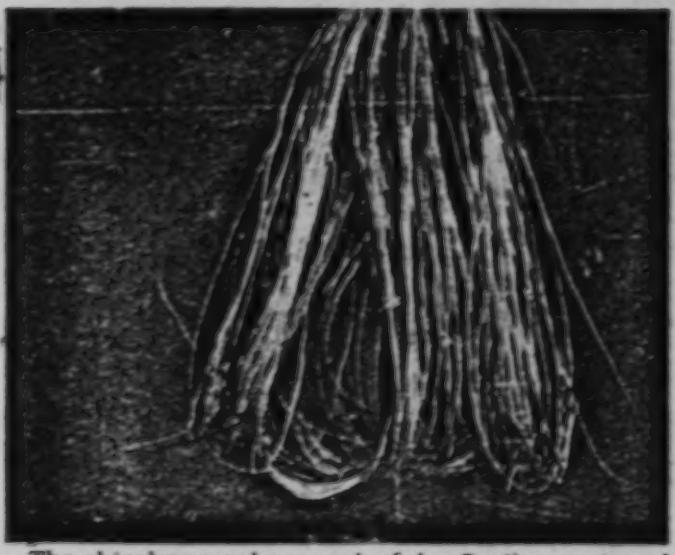

The chinchorro or hammock of the Guaika consists of vegetable fibers joined at both ends, without any transversal weaving. El Platanal. (Photo. by the author.)